traditional, criminal justice system. Because the latter is so closely tied to the pursuit of public safety, some will naturally conclude that community justice places a reduced priority on neighborhood safety. This is wrong. Community justice does tackle public safety, albeit differently than traditional justice. Community justice seeks to achieve a qualitatively

different brand of safety. Far from being indifferent to public safety, community justice approaches the issue with a very different, but coherent, philosophy. Community justice is not a panacea, but it constitutes a well-defined, effective and humane approach to a problem definitely in need of new approaches.

# Neighborhood Safety with Risk Focused Policing

by Jim Bueermann

harles Handy, the renowned management guru, business-school professor and social theorist, states in one of his books, *The Age of Unreason*, (Harvard Business School Press, 1989) "The world that our parents knew is not the world we live in today; nor is our world any sure guide to the way our children will live and love and work. We live in an Age of Unreason when we can no longer assume that what worked well once will work well again, when most assumptions can be legitimately challenged."

Police departments across the country are taking credit for today's decline in crime, attributing it to everything from an increased presence of officers on the street and the advent of community policing to mandatory sentencing laws. And academicians have added a number of factors such as the growing economy, stabilization of the drug trade, aging "baby boomers" and periodic truces among warring street

gangs to the list of possible factors linked to declining crime.

Put aside for the moment your beliefs and arguments about what is responsible for current declining crime rates in many countries, because Handy is right: "...we can no longer assume that what worked well once will work well again."

The prevention of crime in the 21st century needs to be about much more than mandatory sentencing, and more and more police operating in traditional roles. Likewise it needs to be about much more than enhanced lighting, bars on windows and locks on doors and gated communities.

Why not stick with what seems to be working? In the next five to eight years this country will realize a 30 percent increase in its adolescent population. Based on that prediction, many criminologists believe there will be an explosion of crime, proving these currently declining rates simply the "calm

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before the storm."

The economic cost of incarceration, as a fundamental underpinning of our traditional approach to criminality, is staggering and portends to escalate dramatically if our current practices continue. For example, according to a 1995 study by the League of California Cities ("The Cost of Denial"), between 1852 and 1984 only 12 prisons were built in California. Between 1984 and 1994, California built another 16 prisons at a cost of \$5 billion. There were

To help make the city of Redlands a safer, more livable community for its youth and their families, the leadership of the Redlands Police Department (RPD) realized it needed to evolve its community policing strategy to one that focused on strategically controlling crime before it occurs, rather than simply reacting to crime and other community problems. Its mission statement, "to promote and develop a livable community by supporting strong families, resilient youth and safe and sustainable neighborhoods,"

To further its prevention efforts, the city merged its recreation, housing and senior services with the police department to affect transformational change in neighborhoods where substance abuse, crime and blight exist at significant levels by focusing on reducing risk factors and enhancing protective factors.

12 prisons planned for construction prior to the passage of the "three strikes" legislation. It is estimated that California will need an additional 41 prisons by 2005 if three strikes were to be fully implemented. The estimated minimum annual cost of operating all 81 prisons, housing an expected population of over 540,000 prisoners, in 2005 is estimated in the report to be \$6.8 billion.

In a 1994 Rand Corporation study it was estimated that while three strikes will likely result in substantial crime reduction, it will also cost approximately \$5.5 billion every year if fully implemented. That represents an increase in California's criminal justice system operating costs of more than 100 percent.

As noted in the article by Todd Clear and Gregory Saville (see page 19), separating families by incarcerating more and more adolescents or parents may temporarily solve a crime problem, but at tremendous cost to individuals, their families, their neighborhoods and the entire community.

## A New Approach

Redlands, California – like every major metropolitan area across the United States – wants safe streets. Likewise, we all would like to reduce as much as possible the economic and social costs that come from traditional law enforcement approaches. reflects the department's commitment to leveraging Redlands' investment in public safety by working holistically on the antecedents to crime and other related community problems.

In 1997, the department initiated a new approach that we call "Risk Focused Policing." This approach relies on the seminal research on adolescent problem prevention of David Hawkins and Richard Catalano of the University of Washington, Seattle. Their theory - called Risk and Protective Focused Prevention - is based on more than 20 years of research into adolescent problem behavior. Catalano and Hawkins have identified "risk factors" in youths' lives which increase the likelihood of involvement in substance abuse, delinquency, violence, droppingout of school and teen pregnancy. Risk Focused Policing is defined as "a data and results-driven, community-oriented policing and problem solving strategy which focuses on those factors in a community which place its youth and their families most at risk for criminal and other problem behaviors." This risk and protective factor approach now drives many of Redlands' policing, recreation and housing pro-

By implementing Risk Focused Policing, the RPD is the first police department in the country to fully embrace a research-based, prevention framework

focusing on risk and protective factors in the community, school, family and peer group "domains" of youths' lives. To further its prevention efforts, the city merged its recreation, housing and senior services with the police department to affect transformational change in neighborhoods where substance abuse, crime and blight exist at significant levels by focusing on reducing risk factors and enhancing protective factors.

Realizing that the kind of communitywide, systemic changes implied by Risk Focused Policing required more participation and input than the police department alone could provide, the RPD created a community collaborative framed around Risk and Protective Focused Prevention, called "Building a Generation." Its members include the school district, the faith community, healthcare providers, service clubs, youth participants and a diverse range of community-based organizations. The collaborative has been formally adopted by the local United Way as part of its nonprofit structure.

In January 1997, the process of building the community's capacity to engage in holistic prevention efforts was launched. It was facilitated by staff from Developmental Research and Programs (DRP) of Seattle, and underwritten by a variety of collaborative members. Risk and Protective-Focused Prevention was presented to the community in a series of four workshops. In the first, more than 75 key community leaders participated in a one-day orientation on risk and protective factors. A two-day "Community Risk

	Adoles	escent Problem Behavi				
isk Factors	Substance	Delinquency	Teen Pregnancy	School Drop-Out	Violence	
OMMUNITY						
Availability of Drugs	V				V	
Availability of Firearms		V			V	
Community Laws and Norms Favorable Toward Drug Use, Firearms, and Crime	V	V			V	
Media Portrayals of Violence					V	
Transitions and Mobility	V	V		V		
Low Neighborhood Attachment and Community Disorganization	V	V			v	
Extreme Economic Deprivation	V	V	V	V	V	
FAMILY						
amily History of the Problem Behavior	V	V	V	V	V	
Family Management Problems	V	V	V	V	V	
Family Conflict	V	V	V	V	V	
Favorable Parental Attitudes and Involvement in the Problem Behavior	V	V			V	
SCHOOL						
Early and Persistent Antisocial Behavior	V	V	V	V	V	
Academic Failure Beginning in Late Elementary School	V	V	V	V	V	
Lack of Commitment to School	V	V	V	V	V	
NDIVIDUAL/PEER						
Alienation and Rebelliousness	V	V		V		
Friends Who Engage in the Problem Behavior	v	V	V	V	v	
Favorable Attitudes Toward the Problem Behavior	V	V	V	V		
Early Initiation of the Problem Behavior	~	V	~	V	V	
Constitutional Factors	V	V			V	

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bers learned how to analyze collected data, select two to five priority risk factors and inventory and assess current resources addressing those priorities. The final round of community training helped the group develop a long-term, outcome-based strategic plan using best practices approaches to fill identified

Risk Focused Policing is defined as "a data and results-driven, community-oriented policing and problem solving strategy which focuses on those factors in a community which place its youth and their families most at risk for criminal and other problem behaviors."

Assessment Training" followed, during which subcommittees were established to collect relevant local data for analysis and prioritization.

During the third workshop, collaborative mem-

gaps.

As part of the data-collection process, more than 1,100 middle and high school students in Redlands Unified School District completed a youth survey

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## Risk and Protective-Focused Prevention

Two professors of social work at the University of Washington, J. David Hawkins and Richard F. Catalano, have developed a model to address the problem of youth behavior in community settings that focuses on prevention rather than treatment of behavior.

Hawkins and Catalano liken the lawenforcement and social service systems that operate in most communities today to an ambulance service that operates at the bottom of a cliff over which children are continually falling. In this analogy, social service and juvenile justice system personnel are the emergency teams patching-up the kids that fall over the cliff's edge (in real life, putting them into a rehabilitation program or incarceration). None of these people are engaged in building structures to prevent children from falling over the edge (that is, engaging in dangerous or destructive behavior).

Hawkins and Catalano's approach takes the public-health model of "risk focused prevention" and applies it to juvenile delinquency. For example, in the public health field, when the risk factors for cardiovascular disease (sedentary life style, tobacco use, high fat diets, and high stress) are systematically addressed through education and intervention; and when preventative factors (healthy diet, exercise, and relaxation techniques) are specifically promoted, dramatic changes usually result in patients. When comprehensive approaches were taken to implement this strategy into Americans' lifestyles, the incidence of heart disease was reduced by 45 percent, according to Hawkins and Catalano.

Hawkins and Catalano have for years been studying the application of this approach – identifying and measuring risk and preventive factors for juvenile delinquency and other adolescent problems – in communities. And they argue that their approach can dramatically decrease the incidence of these behaviors in a cost-effective fashion.

The two researchers have identified factors that place youths at risk for problem behaviors. These include: availability of drugs and guns, low neighborhood attachment, high transitions and mobility, family conflict and management problems, lack of commitment to school, favorable attitudes toward problem behavior, and others. Hawkins and Catalano are working to develop and demonstrate methods that target at-risk juveniles to prevent problem behaviors by reducing risk factors and strengthening protective factors, such as helping individuals develop resilient temperaments and positive social orientation, bonding through positive relationships and imparting healthy beliefs and clear standards of behavior. These efforts can mitigate the impact of the risk factors, according to Hawkins and Catalano.

This model, called Risk and Protective-Focused Prevention (RPFP), has been translated into a comprehensive, community training program called Communities that Care (CTC) by a company founded by Hawkins and Catalano, called Developmental Programs and Research, Inc. (DRP) of Seattle, Wash. For more information, visit their Web site: www.drp.org/.

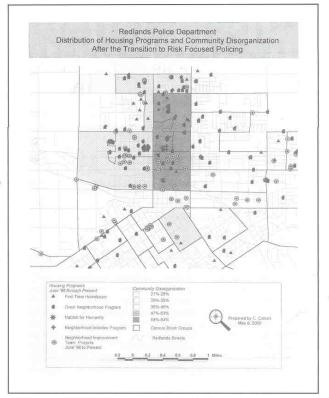
— Jim Bueermann

designed to assess levels of risk and protective factors in their lives. The results were mapped and displayed using sophisticated Geographic Information System (GIS) software developed by Environmental Systems Research Institute, Inc. (ESRI) of Redlands. By integrating the theoretical concepts of Risk Focused Policing with the cutting-edge technology of GIS software, Redlands has been able to map school, family, community and peer group risk and protective factors at the census block level. This has enabled the police department and the many community-based organizations which share access to this data, to identify those neighborhoods with the highest "risk profiles" and effectively focus on areas where the greatest potential for change exists. This has helped eliminate the territoriality and parochialism that dominated previous attempts at collaborative community problem solving. It is believed that this is the first time in the country that risk factor data has been mapped in this manner.

The above map illustrates how the power of mapping can alter critical decision making relative to the placement of housing resources to address "community" domain risk factors. Prior to the use of ESRI's mapping technology and Risk and Protective Factor data, decisions relating to housing programs were made

on a "first-come, first-serve" basis. After providing the police department's housing staff with maps displaying risk-factor data they began directing their resources on a priority basis to the areas displaying the highest level of "community disorganization."

Using Risk Focused Policing as a framework, the community has mobilized resources from the police department, city, school district and community based organizations, and, using collected data, focused them on neighborhoods with the highest risk. For example, recreation programs are now taken to neighborhoods exhibiting high incidence of "low neighborhood attachment;" after-school programs were developed at the middle schools to work on "low school attachment" and give youths a positive way to spend the high-risk, after-school hours; housing personnel direct funds to areas in which the



risk factor "transitions and mobility" is elevated; a police officer has been assigned full-time to the local drug court to work on issues of "parental involvement with the problem behavior;" an officer was assigned to focus on alcohol related crimes to address "availability of alcohol;" and conflict resolution programs have been placed in those elementary schools where the risk factor "early initiation of problem behavior" is elevated.

These strategies are in contrast to previous practices of holding recreation programs only at a centralized location; providing housing resources on a "first-come" basis, regardless of their impact on risk factors; not assigning officers to the local drug court; and, not supporting any early conflict resolution/violence prevention programs.

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#### **Risk Focused Policing's Impact**

The most significant results realized by Redlands' Risk Focused Policing strategy to date are:

- ► citywide, major crimes (Part 1) in Redlands dropped 15 percent in 1999 (24 percent over the last two years):
- ▶ major crimes dropped almost 50 percent more in the area we concentrated on lowering the risk factor "low neighborhood attachment" than in surrounding areas;
- ▶ Part 2 (all non-Part 1) crimes dropped almost 20 percent more in the area in which RPD concentrated on lowering the risk factor "community disorganization" than in surrounding areas;
- ▶ major crimes in the after-school hours, in those neighborhoods served by the department's afterschool program, dropped more than 10 percent in 1999:
- ▶ in the last two years, more than 500 properties have been converted from renter to owner-occupied or rehabilitated to address the risk factors "transitions and mobility" and "community disorganization;"
- ▶ after assigning a police officer to the local drug court there has been a 70 percent increase in clients entering the program, drug court recidivism has dropped 5-6 percent, program retention has risen 7 percent and home visits of program clients have increased from 10 percent to 45 percent; and.
- ▶ 5,110 young people were served in 1999 in our mobile recreation program (2,579 in 1998) and 5,600 were served in our after-school program (1,059 in 1998).

Several other real and observable trends have resulted from this approach, as well, that are increasing a common understanding and fostering increased coordination and cooperation between police and members of the community. For example:

- ▶ RPD's policing strategies Strong Families/Resilient Youth, Safe and Sustainable Neighborhoods, Safe Schools and Safe Businesses now reflect a clear emphasis on reducing risk factors and increasing protective factors;
- ▶ line officer participation in youth recreation programs has increased:
- ▶ the understanding of police officers and community-based organizations of risk and protective factors and the role they play in the development of young people has increased:
- ► referrals by line officers of offenders to drug court have increased:
- ▶ there has been increasingly more focused placement of department resources into the target areas as

identified by the RPD mapping initiative;

- ▶ the police department has become a "community analysis center," providing crime and risk factor maps and other data to community based partners;
- ▶ the mapping of risk factors and adolescent behavior (from the school survey data) has altered the traditional community perception that adolescent problem behavior is restricted to poorer neighborhoods; and.
- ▶ the RPD has begun the process of collecting "sustainability indicators" and incorporating them into its community analysis efforts.

### **Recreation as a Prevention Tool**

The notion that recreation programs have the potential to prevent crime is gaining increasing acceptance throughout the country. While this preventative mindset may appear to be innovative, in fact, it is not new. Recognizing the preventive role public parks can play in the development of youth, the chief planner for the City of Chicago said in 1910 that "Police records show an extraordinary decrease of youthful crimes in the neighborhoods of playground parks." The notion of recreation programs as a youth problem prevention strategy has been pursued for several years by the National Parks and Recreation Association (NPRA) and the California Parks and Recreation Society (CPRS), Both organizations have issued a series of position papers outlining the preventative nature of recreation programs. In 1992, the California Legislature reauthorized the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act which provided funds specifically for parks and recreation to reduce the incidence of juvenile delinquency. And the 1994 report by the Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, "A Matter of Time: Risk and Opportunity in the Out-of-School Hours," indicated that our communities' youth spend 40 percent of their waking hours when not in school on discretionary activities." For those adolescents not under adult supervision during these periods (for example, at work or playing sports) those critical hours represent risk and opportunity

One study documented the "return on investment" of recreation programs in Fort Worth, Texas, at less than \$64 per youth compared to the tens of thousand of dollars per year it takes to incarcerate a youthful offender.

Within the framework of RFP recreation programs play a dual role in helping adolescents develop into

healthy adults. They attack specific risk factors and serve to strengthen protective factors. Specifically, recreation programs have proven successful in addressing the risk factors of "transitions and mobility," "low neighborhood attachment," "family management problems," "friends who engage in problem behavior," and "favorable community attitudes toward problem behavior." When recreation programs communicate clear standards and healthy beliefs, provide bonding with a positive adult (coach or mentor) and afford youths the opportunities, skills and recognition that youth activities generally provide, young people are more likely to develop the resiliency they need to make healthy decisions in their lives."

#### Conclusion

Risk Focused Policing has the potential to transform the policing and community paradigms of today. We now have a system that can prevent adolescent problem behavior; the police, and the communities they serve, do not have to wait until juvenile crime, substance abuse or other community problems occur to act. With a research-based framework (Risk and Protective Focused Prevention), advanced technology (mapping risk and protective factors) and a more comprehensive array of strategies in our organizational "toolbox" (police, recreation and housing programs), the city of Redlands now better understands the risk factors contributing to adolescent substance abuse, delinquency, violence, pregnancy and dropping out of school – and where

these factors manifest themselves. Accordingly, we can place our resources in the locations most likely to produce reductions in the targeted problem behavior, thereby controlling crime before it occurs.

Risk Focused Policing's emphasis on incorporating the entire community in the effort to reduce risk factors and enhance protective factors has enabled key leaders in Redlands' community and governmental institutions to develop a common framework of theory, terms and strategic vision with which to facilitate meaningful, transforming kinds of change regarding the things that precipitate adolescent problem behavior. This new "lens" through which we all now view our community helps groups as diverse as the Boys and Girls Club, the YMCA, neighborhood associations, the school district, the police, the city council and churches (all members of our community collaborative) to fulfill their missions. We now use common terms and research-based concepts to better understand what part of the integrated prevention strategy each of us brings to the table.

Clearly, the transition to RFP represents a substantial policing paradigm shift. However, it is becoming abundantly clear that adolescent problems such as substance abuse, violence, delinquency, teen pregnancy and dropping out of school will not be solved by any one institution acting alone. Police officials, for instance, must look outward for innovative, paradigm-shifting alternatives to affect long-term reductions in crime. Their willingness to do so may well be crucial to both the long-term viability of their organizations and the safety of the communities they serve.

## End Notes

i League of California Cities, "The Cost of Denial," (Sacramento: League of California Cities, 1995), p. 2.

ii Peter W. Greenwood et al, "Three Strikes and You're Out: Estimated Benefits and Costs of California's New Mandatory Sentencing Law," (Santa Monica: Rand), 1994; Peter W. Greenwood et al, Diverting Children from a Life of Crime: Measuring the Costs and Benefits, (Santa Monica: Rand), 1996, p. 2.

iii John Crompton and Peter Witt, "Repositioning: The Key to Building Community Support" (draft version). Texas A & M University, College Station, TX. July 1997, p.6.

iv Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, "A Matter of Time: Risk and Opportunity in the Out-of-School Hours," (New York: Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, 1994), p. 6.

v ibid.

vi Interview with Sherry Wong, Senior Trainer and Program Researcher, Developmental Research and Programs, Inc., Seattle, Wash., July 14, 1997.

vii ibid.